

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PERSECUTIONS
AND
OPPRESSIONS
OF THE
Protestants
IN
FRANCE.

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PROCEEDINGS

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FRANCE

THE END OF THE WORLD

*An exact Account of the Cruel Oppressions
and Persecutions of the French Prote-
stants.*

THE Cruelties exercis'd of late on the Protestants in *France*, do appear so detestable to all, who have nor divested themselves of Humanity, that no wonder, the Authors of them, use their utmost Endeavors to lessen, what they cannot conceal. Were not this worse than Barbarous Usage, a Project of a long Contrivance, a man might for Charity's sake, suppose this their palliating it, to be an acknowledgment of their own Displeasure at it. However, their Boldness is inexcusable, who shall endeavour to impose on the World in Matters known; not by *Gazettes* and *News-Letters*, but by an infinite number of *Fugitives*, of all *Conditions*, who have nothing left, but Tears and Miseries to bring along with them into Foreign Nations. 'Tis certainly too barbarous to oppress innocent People in their own Country; and afterwards to stifle their Complaints in other Places where they are driven; and by this means deprive them of a compassion which the bare Instincts of Nature never refuse to the miserable. Yet this is the Course our Persecuters of *France* have held; their Cruelty must be attended with Impostures, that the Mischiefs which they have acted, may pass undiscovered.

I think we should be much to blame, if we suffer them to go on in this Second Design, as they have done in the first; and therefore we shall chuse some principal Instances, whereon we shall make such Reflections, as thereby to judge with greater Evidence and Exactness on the whole Proceeding. And ~~as~~ we shall advance nothing in our Reflections, but what all the World of reasonable people will allow.

To begin with Matters of Fact : There's no body but knows, that a while after his present Majesty of *France* came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War, which proved so sharp and desperate, as brought the State within an hairs breadth of utter Ruine. 'Tis also known, that in the midst of all these Troubles, those of the Reformed Religion kept their Loyalty in so inviolable a manner, and attended it with such a Zeal and extraordinary Fervour, that the King found himself obliged to give Publick Marks of it, by a Declaration made at *St. Germain's*, in the Year 1652. Then as well at Court as in the Field, each strove to proclaim loudest the Deserts of the Reformists; and the Queen-Mother her self readily acknowledged, That they had preserved the State: This is known by all, but 'twill hardly be believed, though it be too true, what our Enemies themselves an hundred times told us; and which the sequel has but too shrewdly confirmed, that this was precisely, the principal and most essential Cause of our Ruine; and of all the Mischiefs which we have since suffered. Endeavours were used to envenom all these important Services in the King's and his Ministers Minds, by perswading them, that if in this Occasion, this Party could conserve the State, this shewed they could likewise overthrow it, should they have ranked themselves on the other side; and might still do it, when such a like Occasion should offer it self: That therefore this Party must be suppressed, and the Good they have done no longer regarded; but as an Indication of the Mischief which they may one day be capable of doing. This Diabolical Reasoning, which hinders Subjects from serving their Prince, to avoid drawing on themselves Chastisements, instead of Recompences, was relished as a piece of most refined Policy: For as soon as the Kingdom was settled in Peace, the Design was advanced of destroying the Reformists; and the better to make them comprehend that their Zeal had ruined them, the Cities which had shewed most of it, were first begun with. Immediately then, on slight Pretences, they fell on *Rochel*, *Montauban*, and *Millan*, three Towns, where those of the Reformed Religion had most signalized themselves for the Interests of the Court; *Rochel* underwent an infinite number of Prescriptions, *Montauban* and *Millan* were sack'd by the Soldiers: But these being but particular Strokes and meer Preludes, which decided nothing, they tarried not long before they made appear the great
and

and general Machins, they were to use in the carrying on of their intended design to the last extremity. 'Twill be a difficult matter to give an exact account of these several methods: For never humane malice produced such multiplicity of them; every day brought forth new ones for twenty years together. To take only notice of the chief of them; which were, First, Law Suits in Courts of Justice. Secondly, Deprivations from all kinds of Offices and Employes; and in general, of all ways of subsistence. Thirdly, The infraction of Edicts, under the notion of Explications of them. Fourthly, New Laws and Orders. Fifthly, Juggles and amusing Tricks. Sixthly, The animating of People, and inspiring them with hatred against us. These are the most considerable means, which the persecuters have employed to attain their ends, during several years; I say, during several years; for what they designed, being no easie matter, they needed therefore time, to order their Engines; not to take notice of their Traverses and Interruptions by foreign Wars; yet whose successes have not a little contributed to encrease their courage, and confirm them in the design which they had against us.

The first of these means has had an infinite extent. We should begin with the recital of all the Condemnations of Churches, or suppressions of exercises of Religion, and all the other vexations which have hapned by the establishing of Commissaries; this was a snare dexterously laid immediately after the Treaty of the *Pirenees*, the King under pretence of repairing the Edict of *Nants*, sent them in the Provinces. The Roman Catholick Commissary was every where his Majesties Intendant; who was before a fit Man for the purpose, armed with the Royal Authority, and who was well instructed in the secret aim. The other, was either some hungry Officer, a Slave to the Court, or some poor Gentleman, who had usually neither intelligence requisite in these sort of affairs, nor the liberty of speaking his Sentiments. The Clergy had set them up; He was their ambulatory Spirit. The Syndicks were received before them as formal parties in all our affairs; the assignations were given in their name, the prosecutions also; and as well the Discords of the Commissaries, at the Appeals from their Ordinances, must be finally decided in the Kings Council.

Thus in general, all the rights of the Churches, for the exercises of Religion, the burying places, and all such dependencies, were cal-

led into a review, & consequently exposed to the fresh pursuits of the Clergy, & the ill intention of the Judges. In which there was not the least dram of Equity; for the Edict having bin once executed, according to the intention of him that made it, there needed no second touches; it being moreover, wholly unlikely those of the reformed Religion, who had been ever in the Kingdom the suffering party, could usurp any thing therein; and extend its limits beyond what belong'd to them. But there were other designs in hand than the providing against the Contraventions: and therefore by this order, the greatest part of the Churches, cited for the justifying of their rights, saw themselves soon condemned one after another, by Decrees of Council, how good and sufficient soever their Titles and Defences were. Scarcely pass'd a Week, wherein these kind of Decrees were not made; and if it hapned, that the modesty of the Judges saved any of them, by the great evidence of their right, as this sometimes happned; besides that, the number was small, in comparison of those condemned, the Judges often received order to condemn them, when they shewed they could not in Conscience do it.

But the Oppressions of this kind, did not terminate in the bare condemnation of Churches; for particular persons had their part. In ordinary and civil affairs, where the matter concerned a piece of Land, perhaps, a House, a Debt between a Roman Catholick and a person of our Religion; Religion was to be sure always one of the chief heads of the accusation; The Monks, the Emissaries, the Confessors, and all the whole Tribe of that Crew, interestted themselves in the affair. In Courts of Justice, all the cry was, *I plead against an Heretick, I have to do with a Man of a Religion odious to the State; and which the King would have extirpated.* By this means, there was no longer any Justice to be expected, few Judges were proof against this false Zeal, for fear of drawing the fury of the whole Cabal against him, or passing for a favourer of Hereticks. 'Tis not to be imagined how many unjust Sentences these sort of prejudices have given, In all the Courts of the Kingdom; and how many mens Families have bin ruined by 'em: when any one complained, the answer was ready, *You have the remedy in your own hands; why do you not turn Catholick.*

Yet all this had bin nothing, had the persecution kept here, and not proceeded to fasten on the Reputation, the Liberty, and even

even the very Lives of persons, by a general inundation (as a man may term it) of criminal Processes. Writings were Printed at *Paris*, and sent from thence to all Cities and Parishes of the Kingdom, which impowred the Curates, Churchwardens and others, to make an exact inquiry into what soever the pretended Reformists might have done, or said for twenty years past, as well on the subject of Religion as otherwise, to make Information of this before the Justices of the place, and punish them without remission. So have we seen for several years, execution of these Orders, the Prisons every where fill'd with these kind of Criminals; neither were false witnesses lacking; and that which was most horrible, was, that though the Judges were convinced they were Knights of the Post, yet they maintained them, and carry'd them through such points, as they knew to be untrue. They condemned innocent and vertuous persons to be whipt; to the Gallies, to Banishment and publick Penances. And if a Spark of Honor or Conscience, at any time hindred them, yet there was always at least an impunity for the false witnesses.

This kind of Persecution fell chiefly on the Ministers; for of a long time they might not Preach, without having for Auditors, or to speak better, Observators, a Troop of Priests, Monks and Missionaries, and such kind of People, who made no scruple to charge them with things, which they not so much as thought of; and turn others into a contrary meaning. They also went so far as to divine the thoughts, to make Crimes; for as soon as ever any Minister spake of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh*, the *Israelites*, of good or bad people, (as 'tis difficult not to speak of these matters, when they explained the Scripture; these Spies never failed to report, that by *Egypt*, and the wicked, they meant the Catholics, and by the *Israelites*, the pretended Reformists. The Judges concerned themselves in this, and what is most strange, the Ministers of State themselves respected these interpretations of thoughts, as evident proofs. On these grounds, the Magistrates filled the Prisons with these kind of poor People, keeping them therein for whole years together, and often inflicted on them several corporal penalties.

'Tis already seen by this first kind of persecution, what were the usages shewed in *France* to the Reformists before they came to the utmost violence. But we shall see them appear more, in what we have to add, touching the privation of Offices and Employments,

ploys, and in general, of the means of gaining a Livelihood; which is the second way we mentioned, that has been used to effect our ruine. 'Tis not hard to comprehend, that in a great Kingdom, as *France* is, where the Protestants were dispersed over all parts, there were an infinite number, who could not subsist nor maintain their Families, but by the liberty of serving the publick, either in Offices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties, each according to his Calling. *Henry* the great, was so well convinced of the necessity and Justice of this, that he made it an express Article, the most distinct perhaps and formal, of all contained in his Edict: and therefore 'twas here the persecutors thought themselves obliged to do their utmost endeavours. In this regard, they began with the Arts and Trades; which under several pretences, they rendered almost inaccessible to the Protestants, by the difficulties of arriving to the mastership of them, and by the excessive Expences, they must be apt to be received therein, there being no candidate, but was forced, for this purpose to maintain Law Suits, under the weight of which, they for the most part fell, not being able to hold them out. But this not being sufficient, by a Declaration made in 1669. they were reduced to one third, in the Towns where the Protestants were more in number than the other Inhabitants; and they were forbidden to receive any therein till this diminution was made, which at one stroke excluded all the pretenders.

Some time after they absolutely drove all the Reformists from the Consulships, and all other Municipal Officers of the Cities, which was in effect the depriving them of the Knowledge of their Proper Affairs, and Interests, to invest wholly the Catholicks with them.

In 1680. the King issued out an Order, which deprived them in general of all kind of Offices and Employs, from the greatest to the smallest: They were made incapable so much as to exercise any Employ in the Custom-Houses, Guard, Treasury, or Post-Offices; to be Messengers, Coach-Men, or Wagonners, or any thing of this nature.

In the year 1681. by a Decree of Council, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solicitors and Sergeants making Profession of the Reformed Religion, were rendered incapable throughout all the Kingdom. A Year after, all Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion were ordered to discharge their Officers and Servants

vants of the said Religion, and not make use of them in any case, without any other Reason than that of their Religion.

In 1683. All Officers belonging to the King's Household, and those of the Princes of the Blood; were also rendred incapable of holding their Places. The Councillors and other Officers of Ayds, and Chambers of Accounts, and those of *Seneſchallſhip*, Bayliwicks, and Royalties, Admiralty, Brovoſtſhips, and Marſhalls Courts, Treasury, Excise, and others, who belonged to the Toll-Offices, and such like Buſineſſes, were ordered to leave their Places in Favour of the Catholicks.

In 1684. all Secretaries belonging to the King and Great Officers of *France*, as well Titulary, as Honorary ones, and their Widows, were deprived by a Revocation of all their Priviledges of what nature soever they were. They also deprived all those that had purchased any Priviledges for the exercising of any Professions, as Merchants, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Vintners, and all others, without exception.

Nay, they proceeded to this Exceſs, that they would not suffer any Midwives of the Reformed Religion to do their Office, and expressly ordained for the future, our Wives should receive no assistance in that Condition, but from *Roman Catholicks*. 'Tis not to be exprest how many particular Persons and Families they reduced every where, by these strange and unheard of Methods, to Ruine and Misery. But because there were yet many which could sustain themselves, other Methods of Oppression must be invented: To this end they issued out an Edict from the Council, by which, the new *Converts*, as they call them, were discharged from any Payments of their Debts for three years. This, for the most part, fell on the *Reformists*, who, having had a more particular Tye of Interest and Affair with these pretended Converts, because of their Communion of Religion, were reckon'd amongst their chief Creditors: By this Order they had found the Secret to recompense those that changed, at the Charge of those who continued firm: And this they did likewise by another way; for they discharged the *Converts* of all the Debts which those of the Religion had contracted in common, which by consequence fell on the rest. Add to this, the Prohibition to sell or alienate their Estates, on any Pretence whatever. the King annulling and breaking all Contracts, and other Acts relating to that Matter, if it did not appear, that after these Acts, they had staid in the King-

Kingdom a whole Year: so that the last Remedy of helping themselves with their Estates in extream Necessity, was taken from them. They deprived them likewise of another, which seemed the only one remaining, which was, to seek their Bread elsewhere, by retiring into other Countries, there to get their Living by Labour, since this was not permitted them in *France*. By repeated Edicts the King forbad them to leave his Kingdom, on severe Penalties, which drove them to the last Despair; since they saw themselves reduced to the horrible Necessity of dying with Hunger in their own Country, without daring to go to live elsewhere. But the Cruelty of their Enemies stopt not here; for there yet remained some Gleanings in the Provinces, though very few, and as thin as those in *Pharaoh's* Dream: The Intendants in their Districts had Order to load the Reformed with Taxes; which they did, either by laying upon them the Tax of the *New Catholics*, who were discharged thereof on favour of their Conversion, or by laying exorbitant Taxes, which they called *Duties*; that is to say, he who in the ordinary Roll was assessed at forty or fifty Livers, was charged by this Imposition at seven or eight hundred. Thus had they nothing more left; for all was a Prey to the Rigour of the Intendants. They raised their Taxes by the effectual Quartering of *Dragoons*, or *Imprisonment*; from whence they were not freed till they had paid the utmost Farthing.

These were the two first Engines or Machines which the Clergy made Use of against us: To which they added a Third, which we have termed the Infractions of the Edict of *Nantes*, under pretence of *Explication*. Those who would know their Number and Quality, need only read the Books written and published on this Subject, as well by the Jesuite *Menier*, an Author Famous for his Illusions, as by one *Beauvart*, an Officer in the Presidial Court of *Besier* in *Languedoc*. There you will find all the Turns, which the meanest and most unworthy Sophistry could invent to elude the clearest Texts of the Edict, and to corrupt the Sincerity thereof. But because we do here give you only a brief Account of our Troubles, we will content our selves, with observing some of the principal, issuing from this Fountain: What was there, for Example, more clear and unquestionable in the Edict than this, *viz.* That 'twas given with an intention to maintain those of the Religion, in all the Rights that Nature and Civil Socie ty

Society give to Men. Yet in 1681. there came out an Edict, that Children might at the Age of Seven Years, abjure the Reformed Religion, and embrace the Catholick, under pretence, that the Edict did not precisely mark, that at this Age they should continue at their Parents Disposal. Who sees not that this was a meer trick, seeing that on one hand, the Edict forbad to take the Children from their Parents by force, or fair means: and on the other hand, the Edict supposed and confirmed all the Natural Rights, of which, without Controversie, this is one of the most inviolable. Was there ever a more manifest Infraction of the Edict, then that, which forbad those of the Protestant Religion, who had passed over to the *Roman*, to return to that they had left, under pretence, that the Edict did not formally give them in expresse terms this Liberty. For when the Edict permits generally all the Kings Subjects Liberty of Conscience, and forbids the perplexing and troubling them, and offering any thing contrary to this Liberty; Who sees not that this Exception, touching the pretended Relapsers, is so far from being an Explication of the Edict, that 'tis a notable violation of it.

Whereunto we may add the charge given to the *Roman* Catholics not to change their Religion, and embrace the Reformed. For when the Edict gives Liberty of Conscience, it does it in proper Terms, for all those, who are, and shall be of the said Religion. Yet if we believe the Clergy, this was not *Henry* the Great's meaning, intending only to grant it to those, who made Profession of it, at the time of the making his Edict. That of *Nantes* gave also to the Reformed, the privileges of keeping small Schools in all places, where they had the Exercise of their Religion, and by this Term of small or little Schools, according to the common explication, those were always understood, where one might teach Latin and Humanity. This is the *Sence*, which has been ever given in all the Kingdom, to this Expression; which is still given when it concerns the *Roman* Catholics. Yet by a new Interpretation, this permission was restrained to the bare Liberty of teaching to read, and write, as if the Reformed were unworthy to learn any more; and this on purpose, to tire out the Parents, and drive them to this extremity, either not to know what to do with their Children, or be forced to send them to the *Roman* Catholics for Education.

The Edict gave them the liberty in all places where they had Churches, to instruct publicly their Children, and others, in what concerns Religion, which visibly establish'd the Right of reaching them Theology, seeing their Theology is nothing else but this Religion. And as to Collidges, wherein they might be instructed in Liberal Sciences, the Edict promised Letters Patents in good Form. Yet 'twas supposed the Edict gave no right to the Reformed to instruct them in Theology, nor to have Collidges, and on this supposition, Three Academies were condemn'd, all that remained. That of *Salm*, although grounded on a particular Edict, was suppress'd as the rest, and even before them.

But we must go further, and seeing we have undertaken, to shew in this Abridgement, the principal things they have done to exercise our Patience, before they came to the utmost Fury. We are not to pass over the new Orders, or new Laws, which were to us as so many new Inventions to torment us. The first of these Orders, which appeared, was touching the manner of Burials, and entering the Dead. The number of Attendants were reduced to Thirty Persons in those places where the exercise of our Religion was actually established, and to Ten where it was not. Orders were also issued out to hinder the communication of Provinces with one another, by Circulatory Letters, or otherwise; though about Matters of Alms and disposal of Charity. Prohibitions were likewise made of holding Colloquies in the Interval of Synods, excepting in two Cases, the providing for Churches destitute by the Deaths of their Ministers; and the Correction of some Scandals. They likewise took away from those places, allowed by the Edict, which they call'd *Exercices de fief*, all the Marks of the Temples, as the Bell, the Pulpit, and other things of this Nature, They were likewise forbidden to receive their Ministers in Synods to have any deciding voice there, or to note them in the Catalogue of those that belong'd to Churches. Others forbade the singing of *Psalms* in private Houses, as also some that commanded them to cease singing even in their Temples when the Sacrament pass'd by, or at the time of any Procession. Others were made to hinder Marriages, such times as were forbidden by the *Romish* Church. Others forbade Ministers to Preach any where, except in the place of their usual Residence. Others forbade their sitting in places, unless sent by the *Synods*, though the Consistories had call'd them thither according to their usual forms. Others

Others were made to hinder the Synods from sending to any Churches more Ministers than were there in the preceding Synod. Others, to hinder those that design'd for the Ministry, to be educated in Foreign Universities. Others banisht all Forrein Ministers, though they had been ordained in the Kingdom, and spent there the greatest part of their Lives. Others forbad Ministers, or Cardinals for the Ministry to reside in Places where Preaching was forbidden, or nearer than Six Miles of them. Others forbad the People to assemble in the Temples, under pretence of Praying, Reading, or Singing of Psalms, except in the Presence of a Minister, placed there by the Synod. One ridiculous one was made to take away all the Backs of the Seats in the Churches, and reduce them all to an exact Uniformity. Another, to hinder the Churches that were a little more Rich, to assist the Weaker, for the maintenance of their Ministers, and other necessities. Another to oblige Parents to give their Children, who changed their Religion, great Pensions. Another to forbid Marriages betwixt Parties of different Religions, even in the case of Scandalous Cohabitation. Another to prohibit those of the Religion, from that time, to entertain in their Houses any Domesticks or Servants that were *Roman* Catholicks. Another which made them incapable of being Tutors or Guardians; and consequently put all the Minors, whose Fathers dyed in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, under the Power and Education of *Roman* Catholicks. Another forbidding Ministers and Elders to hinder any of their Flock, either directly or indirectly, to embrace the *Roman* Religion, or to dissuade them from it. Another forbidding *Jews* and *Mahometans* to embrace the Reformed Religion; and the Ministers either to instruct or receive them into it. Another subjecting Synods to receive such *Roman* Catholick Commissaries as should be sent them from the King, with an express order to do nothing, but in their presence. Another forbidding the Consistories to assemble oftner than once in Fifteen days, and in presence of a Catholick Commissary. Another forbidding Consistories to assist, on pretence of Charity to the Poor Sick Persons of their Religion; and ordaining that the Sick should be carryed into their Hospitals, strictly forbidding any Man to entertain them in their Houses. Another confiscating, in favour of Hospitals, all the Lands, Rents, and other Profits of what nature soever, which might have appertained to a condemn-

ned Church. Another forbidding Ministers to come nearer than Three Leagues to the place where the Priviledges of Preaching was in quettion or debate. Another confiscated to the Hospitals all the Revenues and Rents set apart for the maintenance of the Poor, even in such Churches as were yet standing. Another subjecting sick and dying Persons to the necessity of receiving Visits, sometimes from Judges, Commissaries, or Church-Wardens; sometimes of Curates, Monks, Missionaries, or other Ecclesiasticks; to induce them to change their Religion, or require of them expresse Declarations concerning it. Another forbidding Parents to send their Children before Sixteen years of Age to travel in Forreign Countries, on any pretence whatsoever. Another prohibiting Lords or Gentlemen to continue the exercise of Religion in their Houses, unless they had first produced their Titles before the Commissaries, and obtained from them a License to have Preaching. Another which restrained the right of entertaining a Minister to those only, who were in possession of their Lands ever since the Edict of *Nantes*, in a direct or collateral Line. Another which forbade Churches called *Baillage*, to receive into their Temples any of another Bailiwick. Another which enjoyned Physicians, Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, to advertise the Curates for Magistrates of the condition of Sick *Protestants*, that the Magistrates or Curates might visit them. But amongst all these new Laws, those which have most served the Design and Intention of the Clergy, have been on one hand, the prohibition of receiving into their Temples any of those who had changed their Religion, nor their Children, nor any *Roman Catholic* of what Age, Sex or Condition soever, under pain of forfeiting their Churches, and the Ministers doing publick Penance, with Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates; and on the other side, the setting up in all the Temples a particular Bench for the Catholics to sit on; for by this means, as soon as any one resolved to change his Religion, they needed only to make him do it in private, and to find him the next morning in the Temple, to be observed there by the Catholics, who were in their Seat. Immediately Informations were made, and afterwards Condemnations, in all the Rigour of the Law. The *Roman Catholics* needed only to enter into the Temple, under pretence, that they had a place there, and then they slip in amongst the Croud, and immediately this was a Contravention to the Declaration, and

an unavoidable Condemnation. 'Tis by this means they have destroyed an Infinite number of Temples and Churches, and put into Irons a great number of Innocent Ministers; for Villains and false Witneses were not wanting in this occasion.

All these Proceedings were so violent, that they must needs make a strong Impression in the Reformists Minds, whereunto these things tended. And in effect, there were many of them, that bethought themselves of their safety, by leaving the Kingdom, some transported themselves into one Kingdom, and some into another, according as their Inclinations led them. But this was what the Court never intended, for more than one reason; and therefore to hinder them, they renewed from time to time this Decree, which we have mentioned, which strictly prohibited, under the most severe Penalties, any to depart the Kingdom without leave; and to this end they strictly guarded all Passages on the Frontiers. But these Precautions did not answer their Expectations, and 'twas better to blind the People, by hopes of abating this rigorous usage at home; and to this end in 1666. the King revoked several violent Decrees, which produced the Effect expected. For though the Judicious saw well enough, that this Moderation sprang not from a good Principle, and that, in the Sequel, the same Decrees would be put in execution, yet the most part imagined they would still confine themselves within some Bounds in our regard, and that they would not pass to a total Destruction.

We have often drawn the same Conclusions from the several Verbal Declarations, which came many times from the Kings own Mouth, that he pretended not to indulge us, but he would do us perfect Justice, and let us enjoy the Benefits of the Edicts in their whole Extent, that he would be very glad to see all his Subjects re-united to the Catholick Religion, and would for the effecting this, contribute all his Power, but there should be no Blood shed, during his Reign, on this account, nor any violence exercised. These precise and re-iterated Declarations, gave us hopes the King would not forget them; and especially in essential matters, he would let us enjoy the effects of his Bounty and Equisy. 'Twas the more expected by a Letter, he wrote to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Copies of which the Ministers of State took care to disperse through the whole Kingdom. His Majesty assured him, that he was well satisfied with the Behaviour of his *Protestant* Subjects

Subjects, from whence he drew this natural Conclusion, that he intended no then to destroy us.

To which we may add the managements used sometimes in the Council, where Churches were conserved, at the same time, when others were ordered to be demolish'd; to make the World believe, they observed measures of Justice; and that those which they condemned, were not grounded on good Titles. Sometimes they *signed* several too rigorous Decrees; other times they seemed not to approve of the violences offered by the Intendants and Magistrates; even to the giving of orders to moderate them. In this manner did they hinder the execution of a Decree made in the Parliament of *Rouen*, which enjoyned those of the Reformed Religion to fall on their Knees, when they met the Sacrament. Thus did they stop the prosecutions of a pny Judge of *Charonton*, who ordered us to strike out of our Liturgy a prayer which was composed for the faithful, that groaned under the Tyranny of Antichrist. 'Tis thus also, that they did not extremely favour another persecution which began to come general in the Kingdom against the Ministers, under pretence of obliging them to take an Oath of Allegiance, wherein other Clauks were inserted, contrary to what Ministers owe to their Charges and Religion. 'Twas thus also they suspended the execution of some Edicts, which themselves had procured, as well to Tax the Ministers, as to oblige them to reside precisely in the place where they exercised their Ministry. With the same design the *Syndics* of the Clergy, had the Art to let the principal Churches of the Kingdom to be at rest, for many years without disturbance in their Assemblies, whilst they in the mean time, desolated all those in the Country. They suspended also the condemnation of the Universities, and reserved them for the last. It was also in this view; that at *Courn*, the first seemed unable to believe, and at last not to approve of the excesses, which one *Marillac* an Intendant of *Poitou*, committed in this Province: A man poor and cruel, more fit to pry on the High-ways, than to be Intendant of a Province; though indeed they had a clause expressly to make these expeditions. But amongst all these illusions, there's none more remarkable, than five or six, which will nor be improper here to take notice of: The first was, That at the very time, when at the Court they issued out all the Decrees, Declarations, and Edicts, which we have spoken of here before, and which they caused to be

be put in execution with the greatest rigour, at the same time, that they interdicted their Churches, demolished their Temples, deprived particular persons of their Offices and Employments, reduced People to Poverty and Hunger, imprisoned them, loaded them with Fines, banish'd them, and in a word, ravag'd almost all; the Intendants, Governours, Magistrates, and other Officers in *Paris*, and over all the Kingdom, coolly and gravely gave out, the King had not the least intention to touch the Edict of *Nantes*, but would most Religiously observe it. The second was, that in the same Edict, which the King publish'd to forbid Roman Catholics to embrace the Reformed Religion, which was in the year 1682. That is to say, at a time when they had already greatly advanced the work of our destruction; they caused a formal Clause to be inser'd in these terms, *That he confirmed the Edict of Nantes, as much as it was or should be needful.* The third, That in the Circular *Lettres* which the King wrote to the Bishops and Intendants, to oblige them to signify the Pastoral Advertisement of the Clergy to our Consistories, he tells them in express terms, *That his intention was not that they should do any thing that might attempt upon what had bin granted to those of the Reformed Religion, by the Edicts and Declarations made in their favour.* The fourth, That by an express Declaration publish'd about the latter end of the year 1684, the King ordain'd, That Ministers should not remain in the same Church, above the space of three years, nor return to the first, within the space of Twelve; and that they should be thus translated from Church to Church, at least twenty Leagues distant from the other; supposing by a manifest consequence, that his design was yet to permit the exercise of Religion to the Ministers in the Kingdom for Twelve years at least: Though indeed they at that moment design'd the Revocation of the Edict, and had resolv'd it in the Council. The fifth consists in a Request presented to the King, by the Assembly of the Clergy at the same time, that they were drawing an Edict to revoke that of *Nantes*, and put it into the Hands of the *Procureur General* to frame it; and in the Decree which was granted on this request, the Clergy complain'd of the misrepresentations which the Ministers are wont to make of the *Roman Church*, to which they attribute Doctrines which they do not hold, and beseech his Majesty to provide against it. And also expressly declared, that they did not yet desire the Revocation of the Edict, upon which the King

King by his Decree expressly forbid the Ministers to speak either good or hurt, directly or indirectly of the Church of Rome in their Sermons; supposing, as every one may see, that 'twas his Intention still to let them Preach; were ever such Missions known! But was there ever any greater than this which they put in the very Edict we speak of? The King after having cancelled and annul'd the Edict of Nantes, and all that depended thereon, after having interdicted for ever all publick Religious Exercises, he also for ever banish'd all the Ministers from his Kingdom, and expressly declares, that his will is, that his other Subjects, who are not willing to change their Religion, may remain where they are in all Liberty, enjoy their Estates, and live with the same Freedom as heretofore, without any Molestation on pretence of their Religion, till it shall please God to enlighten and convert them. These were Amusements and Snares to entrap them as it has since appeared, and it still appears every day by the horrible usages they suffer, and of which we shall speak in what follows. But we shall, first, mention a preparatory Machin, which the Persecutors; have not fail'd to employ to effect their Design, and which we have reckon'd to be the Sixth in order. It consists in disposing insensibly the People by decrees to desire our Destruction, to approve of it when done, and to diminish in their Mind the Horror which naturally they must have at the Cruelties and Injustices of our Persecutors Contrivances. For this purpose several means have been used, and the commonest have been the Sermons of the Missionaries and other Controversial Preachers, with which the Kingdom had been for some years stockt, under the Title of *Royal Missions*. There were fitting Youths, chosen for this purpose, who had such an Education given them, which was so far from making them moderate, as rather enflamed them; so that 'tis casie to comprehend what Actors they are, when they not only found themselves upheld, but saw themselves moreover set on, and had express Orders to inspire their Hearers with Choler. And so well did they acquit themselves herein, that 'twas not their fault if Popular Emotions have not followed thereon in great Cities yea in Paris it self, had not the Prudence of the Magistrates hindred them. To the Preachers we must joyn the Confessors and Directors of Mens Consciences, the Monks, the Curates, and in general, all the Ecclesiasticks from the highest to the lowest; for they being not ignorant of the Courts Intention

in this matter, every one strove to shew most Zeal, and Aversion to the Reformed Religion; because every one found his Interest lay therein, this being the only way to raise and establish his Fortune. In this design of animating the People, there past few days wherein the Streets did not ring, as well with the publication of Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations against the Protestants, as also with Satyrical and Seditious Libels, of which the People in the Towns of *France* are very greedy.

But these things served only for the meaner sort of People, and the Persecutors had this Mortification to see this Design disapproved by all those who were a degree above the Mobile. Wherefore they employed the Pens of some of their Authors, who had acquired any Reputation in the World; and amongst others, that of the Author of the History of *Theodosius* the Great, and that of Mr. *Maimburg*, heretofore a Jesuite. He publish'd his History of *Calvinism*, of which he has since had the leisure to repent, by the smart and pertinent Answers which have been given him: Their Example has been followed by several others; and *Monsieur Arnaud*, who will always make one in these matters, would not deny himself the satisfaction of venting his Choler; and at the same time endeavour, to recover the Favour he has lost at Court. But although his Apology for the Catholicks was a Work as full of Fire and Passion as the *Bigots* themselves could Wish, yet 'twas not agreeable, because his person was not; he was so ill gratified for it, that he complained thereof to the Archbishop of *Rhims*, in a Letter, the Copies whereof were dispersed over all *Paris*. Amongst other things, he exaggerated his Misfortune, and compared himself with another, who for much less Services, received Twenty Thousand Livers, as a Reward from the King. This more and more shewed the Character of the Person. However they needed not him, not wanting violent Writers, amongst whom we must not forget one Mr. *Souliez*, formerly (as they say) a Taylor, and at present, Author of the History of the *Edicts of Pacification*, nor Mr. *Nicole*, once a great *Jansenist*, and now a Profelyte of the Archbishops of *Paris*; Author of the Book entitled, *Protestants convinced of Schism*: nor the Author of the *Journal des Sçavants*, who in his ordinary Gazets, highly affirms That the Catholick Faith must be planted by Fire and Sword, alledging for the proof thereof a King of *Norway*, who converted the Nobles of his Country, by threatening them, To slay their Children

dren before their Eyes, if they would not consent to have them baptized, and be baptized themselves. For a long time we have seen in *Paris* and elsewhere, nothing but such sort of Writings, to such a height was Passion come.

Whilst all these things which we have here observed, were done in *France*, they by great steps advanced to their end. 'Tis not to be imagined the Reformed neglected their common Interests or did not all that respected a just and lawful Defence. They frequently sent, from the furthest Provinces, their Deputies to the Court; They maintained their Rights before the Council; Thither they brought their Complaints from all parts. They employed their Deputy General to solicit their Interests, as well with the Judges and Ministers of State, as with the King himself. Sometimes also they presented general Addresses, in which they exposed their Grievances, with all the Humility and Deference that Subjects owe their Sovereigns. But they were so far from being heard, that their Troubles were still increased, and their Second Condition became worse than the First. The last Petition, presented to the King himself by the Deputy General in *March*, 1684. was express in Terms most submissive, and most capable of moving Pity, as every one may judge, having been since Printed; and yet it produced no other Fruit, but the hastning of what they had long resolved, namely, to use open Force to accomplish our Ruine.

This was effectually done some Months after, and executed in a manner so terrible and violent, that, as we said in the beginning, there are few in *Europe*, how distant soever from the notice of the common Accidents of the World, who have not heard the Report of it; but 'tis certain, the circumstances are not known to all, and therefore we shall give an account of them in few Words; if it be but to stop the Mouth of their Impudence, who publisht abroad, That no Violences have been offered in *France*, and the Conversions there made, were with free Consent. At first they took this Measure, to quarter Soldiers in all the Provinces, almost at the same time, and chiefly Dragoons, which are the most Resolute Troops of the Kingdom. Terror and Dread marched before them, and as it were by consent, all *France* was filled with this news, That the King would not longer suffer any *Hugonots* in his Kingdom; and that they must resolve to change their Religion, nothing being able to keep them from it.

They

They began with *Bearn*, where the Dragoons did their first Executions; these were followed soon after in High and Low *Guienne*, *Xantoigne*, *Annix*, *Poison*, High *Languedoc*, *Vivarets*, and *Dauphine*; after which they came to *Lionois*, *Gevennes*, Low *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Vales*, and the Country of *Geix*, afterwards they fell on the rest of the Kingdom, *Normandy*, *Bourgoigne*, *Nivernois*, and *Berry*; the Countries of *Orleans*, *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Britany*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*; and the Isle of *France*, not excluding *Paris* it self, which underwent the same Fate; the first thing, the Intendants were ordered to do, was to summon the Cities and Commonalties. They assembled the Inhabitants thereof, who profest the Reformed Religion, and there told them, 'twas the Kings pleasure they should without delay become Catholics; and if they would not do it freely, they would make them do it by force. The poor People, surpris'd with such a Proposal, answered, They were ready to sacrifice their Estates and Lives to the King, but their Consciences being Gods, they could not in that manner depose of them.

There needed no more to make them immediately bring the Dragoons, which were not far off. The Troops immediately seized on the Gates and Avenues of the Cities; they placed Guards in all the Passages, and often came with their Swords in their Hands, crying *Kill, Kill, or else be Catholics*, they were quartered on the Reformists at Discretion, with a strict charge, that none should depart out of their Houses, nor conceal any of their Goods or Effects, on great Penalties, even on the Catholics, that should receive or assist them in any manner. The first days were spent in consuming all Provisions the House afforded, and taking from them whatever they could see, Money, Rings, Jewels, and in general, whatsoever was of value. After this they pillaged the Family, and invited not only the Catholics of the place, but also those of the Neighbouring Cities and Towns, to come and buy the Goods, and other things which would yield Money. Afterwards they fell on their Persons, and there's no Wickedness or Horror which they did not put in practise, to force them to change their Religion. Amidst a thousand hideous Cries, and a thousand Blasphemies, they hung Men and Women by the Hair or Feet on the Roofs of the Chamber, or Chimney Hooks, and smookt them with Whips of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it, and when they had taken them down, if

they would not sign, they hung them up immediately again. They threw them on great Fires kindled on purpose, and pulled them not out till they were half Roasted. They tyed Ropes under their Arms, and plunged them to and again into Wells, from whence they would not take them, till they had promised to change their Religion. They tyed them as they do Criminals, put to the question; and in this posture, with a Funnel fill'd with Wine, poured it down their Throats, till the Fumes of it depriving them of their reason, they made them say they would consent to be Catholicks. They stript them naked, and after having offered them a 1000 infamous Indignities, they stuck them with Pins from the top to the bottom. They cut them with Penknives, and sometimes with red hot Pincers took them by the Nose, and dragged them about their Rooms, till they promised to become Catholicks, or that the cries of these poor Wretches, that in this Condition call'd on God for their Assistance, constrained them to let them go. They beat them with Staves, and dragged them all bruised to the Churches, where there bare forced Presence was accounted for an Abjuration. They held them from sleeping Seven or Eight Days, relieving one another to watch them Night and Day, and keep them waking. They threw Buckets of Water on their Faces, and tormented them a 1000 ways, holding over their Heads Kettles turned downwards, whereon they made a continual Noise, till these poor Creatures had even lost their Sences. If they found any sick, either Men or Women, that kept their Beds, distempered with Feavers, or other Diseases, they had the Cruelty to bring Twelve Drums sounding an Alarm about their Beds, for whole Weeks together without Intermission, till they had promised they would change. It hapned in some places, that they tyed Fathers and Husbands to the Bed-Posts, and before their Eyes forced their Wives and Daughters. In another place Rapes were publickly and generally permitted for many Hours together. They pluckt off the Nails from the Hands and Toes of others, which could not be endured without intollerable pain. They burnt the Feet of others. They blew up Men and Women with Bellows, even till they were ready to burst.

If after these horrid usages, there were yet any that refused to turn, they imprisoned them; and for this chose Dungeons dark and noysom, in which they exercised on them all sorts of Inhumanity.

manity. In the meantime they demolished their Houses, desolated their Hereditary Lands, cut down their Woods, and seized their Wives and Children, to imprison them in Monasteries. When the Soldiers had devoured and consumed all in a House, the Farmers of their Lands furnished them with Subsistence; and to re-imburse them, they sold by Authority of Justice the Fonds of their Hosts, and put them in possession thereof. If some, to secure their Consciences, and to escape the Tyranny of these Furious Men, endeavour'd to save themselves by Flight, they were pursued, and hunted in the Fields and Woods, and were shot at like Wild Beasts. The Provosts rode about the High-ways, and the Magistrates of places had orders to stop them without exception. They brought them back to the places from whence they fled, using them like Prisoners of War. But we must not fancy, that this Storm fell only on the common sort, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Quality were not exempted from it. They had Soldiers quartered upon them in the same manner, and with the same Fury as Citizens and Peasants had. They plundered their Houses, wasted their Goods, rased their Castles, cut down their Woods, and their very Persons were exposed to the Insolence and Barbarity of the Dragoons, no less than those of others. They spared neither Sex, Age, nor Quality; wherever they found any unwillingness to obey the command of changing their Religion, they practised the same Violences. There were still remaining some Officers of Parliament which underwent the same fate, after having been first deprived of their Offices; and even the Military Officers, who were actually in Service, were ordered to quit their Post and Quarters, and repair immediately to their Houses, there to suffer the like Storm; if to avoide it, they would not become Catholicks. Many Gentlemen and other Persons of Quality, and many Ladies of a great Age and Ancient Families, seeing all these outrages, hoped to find some Retreat in *Paris*, or at the Court, nor imagining the Dragoons would come to seek them so near the Kings Presence; but this hope was no less vain, than all the rest; for immediately there was a Decree of Council, which commanded them to leave *Paris* in Fifteen days, and return without delay to their own Houses; with a prohibition to all Persons to entertain or lodge them in their Houses. Some having attempted to present Adresses to the King, containing Complaints of these cruel usages, humbly beseeching his Majesty to stop the course

course thereof, received no other answer, than that of sending them to the *Bastile*.

Before we proceed any further, 'twill not be amiss to make some Remarks; The first shall be, that almost every where, at the Head of these Internal Legions, besides the Commanders and Military Officers, the Intendants also, and the Bishops marched every one in *his* Diocess, with a Troop of Missionaries, Monks, and other Ecclesiasticks. The Intendants gave such Orders as they thought most fitting to carry on Conversions, and restrain natural Pity and Compassion; if at any time it found a place in the Hearts of Dragoons or their Commanders, which did not often happen. And as for the Bishops, they were there to keep open House, to receive abjurations, and to have a general and severe Inspection that every thing might pass there according to the Intentions of the Clergy. The second thing observable is, That when the Dragoons had made some to yield, by all the Horrors which they practised, they immediately changed their Quarters, and sent them to those who still persevered. This Order was observed in this manner even to the end, in so much that the last, that is to say, those who had shewed the greatest Constancy, had, in fine, quartered on them alone all the Dragoons, which at the beginning were equally dispers'd amongst all the Inhabitants of the place, which was a load impossible to be sustained.

A Third Remark, which we shall make, is, That in almost all the considerable Cities, they took care before they sent Troops thither, to gain by means of the Intendants, or some other private way, a certain number of People, not only to change their Religion themselves, when it should be seasonable, but also to assist them in perverting others. So that when the Dragoons had sufficiently done their part, the Intendant, with the Bishop, and the Commander of the Forces, again assembled these Miserable Inhabitants already ruined, to exhort them to obey the King, and become Catholics; adding thereto most terrible Threats, that they might over-awe them, and then the new Converts failed not to execute what they had promised, which they did with the more success, because the People did yet put some kind of Confidence in them.

A fourth Observation is, that when the Master of the House, thinking to get rid of the Dragoons, had obeyed and signed what they would, he was not freed from them for all this; if his
Wife,

Wife, Children, and the meanest of his Domesticks did not do the same thing; and when his Wife, or any of his Children or Family fled, they ceased not to torment them, till he had made them return: which oftentimes being impossible, the change of their Religion did not at all avail them.

The Fifth is, That when these poor wretches fancied their Consciencés would be at rest by signing some form of an Equivocal Abjuration offered them; a little while after these cruel men came to them again, and made them sign another, which plunged them into such depths, as cast them into the utmost despair. Nay farther, they had the boldness to make them acknowledge, That they embraced the Roman Religion of their own accord; without having bin induced thereunto by any violent means. If after this they scrupled to go to Mass, if they did not Communicate, if they did not tell their Beads; if by a sigh escaped from them, they signified any unwillingness, they had immediately a Fine laid upon them, and they were forced to receive again their old guests.

In fine, for a sixth remark; As fast as the Troops ravaged in this manner the Provinces, spreading terror and desolation in all parts; Orders were sent to all the Frontier Countries and Sea-port Towns, to guard well the passages, and stop all such who pretended to escape from *France*: so that there was no hope of these poor wretches saving themselves by flight. None were permitted to pass, if he brought not along with him a Certificate from his Bishop or Curate, that he was a Catholick; others were put in prison, and used like Traytors against their Country. All strange Vessels lying in the Ports were searched; the Coast, Bridges, Passages to Rivers, and the High-ways, were strictly guarded, both night and day. The Neighbouring States were also required not to harbour any more Fugitives, and to send back again such as they had already received. Attempts were also made to seize on, and carry away some, who had escaped into Foreign Countries.

Whilst all this was acting in the Kingdom, the Court were consulting to give the last stroak, which consisted in repealing the Edict of *Nantes*; much time was spent in drawing up the matter and form of this new Edict: Some would have the King detain all the Ministers, and force them as they did the Laity, to change their Religion, or condemn them to perpetual Imprisonment.

They

They alledged for their reason, that if they did not do it, they would be as so many dangerous Enemies against them in Foreign Nations. Others on the contrary affirm'd, that as long as the Ministers continued in *France*, this their presence would encourage the People to abide in their Religion, whatsoever care might be taken to hinder them; and that supposing they should change, they would be but as so many secret adversaries nourished in the bosom of the Church of *Rome*; and the more dangerous on the account of their knowledge and experience in Controversial matters. This last reasoning prevailed; 'twas then resolved on to banish the Ministers, and to give them no more than fifteen days time to depart the Kingdom. As to what remained, the Edict was given to the Procurer-General of the Parliament of *Paris*, to draw it up in such a form as he should judge most fitting. But before the publishing of it, two things were thought necessary to be done; The first to oblige the assembly of the Clergy, separately to present to the King a request concerning the matter above mentioned, in which also they told his Majesty, that they desired not at present the repealing the Edict of *Nantes*; and the other to suppress in general, all kind of Books made by them of the Reformed Religion, and to issue out an Order for that purpose. By the first of these things, the Clergy thought to shelter themselves from the reproaches, which might be cast on them as the Authors of so many Miseries, Injustices and Oppressions which this Repeal would still occasion: And by the other, they pretended to make the Conversions much more easie (as they styled them) and confirm those which had bin already made, by taking from the People all Books, which might instruct, fortifie, and bring them back again.

In fine, This Revocative Edict of *Nantes*, was signed and published on *Thursday*, being the 8th of *October*, in the year 1685. 'Tis said the Chancellor of *France*, shewed an extream joy in Sealing it; but it lasted not long, this being the last thing he did. For as soon as he came home from *Fountainbleau*, he fell sick, and dyed within a few days. 'Tis certain, that this mans policy, rather than his natural Inclination, induced him in his latter years to become one of our Persecutors.

The Edict was Registred in the Parliament of *Paris*, and immediately after in the others. It contains a Preface, and Twelve Articles. In the Preface, the King shews that *Henry* the Great's Grand-

Grandfather did not give the Edict, and Lewis his Father did not confirm it, by his other Edict of *Nantes*, but in the design of endeavouring more Effectually the re-union of their Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, to the Catholick Church; and that this was also the Design which he had himself at his first coming to the Crown. That is true, he had been hindred by the Wars, which he was forced to carry on against the Enemies of his State; but that at present being at Peace with all the Princes of Europe, he wholly gave himself to the making of this re-union: That God having given him the Grace of accomplishing it, and seeing the greatest and best part of his Subjects of the said Religion had embraced the Catholick one, these Edicts of *Nantes* and *Nismes* consequently became void and useless. By the first Article, he suppresses and repeals them, in all their extent; and ordains that all the Temples, which are found yet standing in his Kingdom, shall be immediately demolished. By the Second, he forbids all sorts of Religious Assemblies of what kind soever. The Third, prohibits the Exercises of Religion to all Lords and Gentlemen of any quality, under Corporal Penalties and Confiscation of their Estates. The Fourth, banishes from his Kingdom all the Ministers, and enjoyns them to depart thence, within Fifteen days after the publication of this Edict, under the Penalty of being sent to the Gallies. In the Fifth and Sixth, he promises Recompences and Advantages to the Ministers and their Widows, who should change their Religion. In the Seventh and Eighth, he forbids the Instructing of Children in the pretended Reformed Religion, and ordains, that those who shall be born henceforward shall be baptised, and brought up in the Catholick Religion, enjoining Parents to send them to the Churches, under the penalty of being fined 500 Livres. The Ninth gives Four Months time to such Persons as have departed already out of the Kingdom to return, otherwise their Goods and Estates to be confiscated. The Tenth, with repeated Prohibitions, forbids all his Subjects of the said Religion to depart out of his Realm, they, their Wives and Children, or to convey away their Effects, under pain of the Gallies for the Men, and of Confiscation of Body and Goods for the Women. The Eleventh, confirms the Declarations heretofore made against those that Relapse. The Twelfth declares, that as to the rest of his Subjects of the said Religion, they may, till God enlightens them, remain in the Cities of his Kingdom, Countries

and Lands of his Obedience, there continue their Commerce, and enjoy their Estates, without Trouble or molestation upon pretence of the said Religion, on condition, that they have no Assemblies under pretext of Praying, or exercising any religious Worship whatever.

In order to put this Edict in execution, the very same day that it was registred and published at *Paris*, they began to demolish the Church of *Charvonn*. The eldest Minister thereof was commanded to leave *Paris* within Twenty Four Hours, and immediately to depart the Kingdom. For this end they put him into the Hands of one of the Kings Footmen, with orders not to leave him till he was out of his Dominions. His Collegues were little better treated, they gave them Forty Eight Hours to quit *Paris*, and then left them upon their Parole. The rest of the Ministers were allowed Fifteen days, but it can hardly be believed to what Vexations and Cruelties they were all exposed. First of all, they neither permitted them to dispose of their Estates, nor to carry away any of their moveables or effects, nay they disputed them their Books and private Papers on pretence, that they must justifie, their Books and Papers did not belong to the Consistories wherein they served, which was a thing impossible, since there were no Consistories, that then remained. Beside, they would not give them leave to take along with them either Father or Mother, or Brother or Sister, or any of their Kindred, though there were many of them infirm, decay'd and poor, which could not subsist but by their means; they went so far, as even to deny them their own Children, if they were above Seven Years old; nay, some they took from them that were under that Age, and even such as yet hang'd upon their Mothers Breasts. They refused them Nurses for their new born Infants, which the Mothers could not give Suck. In some Frontier Places they stopped and imprisoned them, upon divers ridiculous Pretences; they must immediately prove that they were really the same Persons, which their Certificates mentioned; they were to know immediately whether there were no Criminal Process or Informations against them; they must presently justifie, that they carryed away nothing that belonged to their Flocks; sometime after they had thus detained and amused them, they were told, that the Fifteen days of the Edict were expired, and that they should not have Liberty to retire, but must go to the Gallies. There is no kind of Deceit and Injustice which they did not think of to involve them in Troubles

As to the rest, whom the Force of Persecution and hard Usage constrained to leave their Houses and Estates, and to fly the Kingdom, it is not to be imagined what dangers they exposed them to. Never were Orders more severe or more strict, then those that were given against them. They doubled the Guards in Posts, Cities, High-Ways, and Foards, they covered the Country with Soldiers, they Armed even the Peasants to stop those that passed, or to kill them: They forbid all the Officers of the Customs to suffer any Goods, Moveables, Merchandize, or other Effects, to pass. In a Word, they forgot nothing that could hinder the flight of the persecuted, even to the interrupting almost all Commerce with Neighbouring Nations. By this means they quickly filled all the Prisons in the Kingdom; for the fear of the Dragoons, the Horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and their Children taken away, and of living for the future in a Land where there was neither Justice nor Humanity for them, obliged every one to think of an escape, and to abandon all to save their Persons. All these poor Prisoners have been since treated with unheard of Rigours, shut up in Dungeons, loaded with heavy Chains, almost starved with Hunger, and deprived of all Converse, but that of their Persecutors. They put many into Monasteries, where they experience none of the least Cruelties: Some there are so happy as to dye in the midst of their Torments, others have at last sunk under the Weight of the Temptation, and some by the extraordinary Assistance of Gods Grace, do still sustain it with an Heroick Courage.

These have been the Consequences of this new Edict in this respect; but who would not have believed that the Twelfth Article would have shelter'd the rest of the Reformed, that had a mind still to stay in the Kingdom, since this Article expressly assures them, that they might live there, continue their Trade, and enjoy their Estates, without being troubled or molested upon pretence of their Religion. Yet see what they have since done, and yet do to these poor Wretches. They have not recalled the Dragoons and other Soldiers which they dispatcht into the Provinces before the Edict: On the contrary, they to this day commit with greater Fury the same Inhumanities, which we have before represented: besides this, they have marched them into Provinces, where there were none before, as Normandy, Picardy, le Berry, Champagne, Nivernois, Orleans, Belessois, and the Isle of France.

They do the same Violence there, exert the same Fury they do in other Provinces. *Paris* it self, where methinks this Article of the Edict should have been best observed, because so near the Kings Presence, and more immediately under the Government of the Court, *Paris*, I say, was no more spared than the rest of the Kingdom. The very day that the Edict was published, without more delay, the Procurer-General, and some other Magistrates, began to send for Heads of Families to come to their Houses. There they declared to them, that 'twas absolutely the Kings Will that they should change their Religion, that they were no better than the rest of his Subjects, and that if they would not do it willingly, the King would make use of means, which he had ready, to compell them. At the same time they banish'd by Letters under the Privy Seal, all the Elders of the Consistory, together with some others, in whom they found more of Constancy and Resolution; and, to disperse them, chose such places as were most remote from Commerce, where they have since used them with a great deal of Cruelty, some complied, others are yet under Sufferings.

The diligence of the Procurer General and Magistrates, not succeeding so fully as they wish'd, though Threats and Menaces were not wanting, *Monsieur Seignelay*, Secretary of State, would also try what influence he could have within his Division at *Paris*. For this end, he got together about five or six score Merchants, and others into his House, and after having shut the doors, forthwith presented them with the form of an Abjuration, and commanded them in the Kings name to Sign it; declaring, that they should not stir out of Doors till they had obeyed. The Contents of this Form were, not only that they did renounce the Heresie of *Calvin*, and enter into the Catholick Church, but also that they did this voluntarily, and without being forced or compelled to it. This was done in an Imperious manner, and with an Air of Authority, yet there were some that dared to speak, but they were sharply answer'd, That they were not to dispute it, but to obey; so that they all Sign'd before they went out.

To these methods they added others more terrible, as Prisons, actual seizing of their Effects, and Papers; the taking away of their Children, the separation of Husbands and Wives; and in fine, the great Method, that is to say, Dragoons and Guards. Those that most firmly stood out, they sent to the *Bastile*, and to the

the *Fort l'Eveque*; they confin'd them to their own or others Houses, where they lay concealed for fear of Discovery, they plunder'd those of many others, not sparing their persons, just as they had done in in other places.

Thus the 12th. Article of the Edict, which promised some relaxation, and a shadow of Liberty, was nothing but an egregious deceit to amuse the credulous, and keep them from thinking to make their escape, a snare to catch them with the more ease. The Fury still kept its usual course, and was heated to a such a degree, that not content with the Desolations in the Kingdom, it entred even into *Orange*, a Sovereign Principality, where the King of Right has no power, and taking Ministers away from thence by force, remov'd them into Prisons. Thither the Dragoons were sent, who committed all kind of mischief, and by force constrained the Inhabitants thereof, both Men, Woman and Children, and the very Officers of the Prince to change their Religion. And this is the state of things in the year 1685. and this the accomplishment of the dealing which the Clergy has shewed us three years since, towards the end of their Pastoral Letter; *You must expect mischiefs more dreadful and intolerable, then all those, which hitherto your Revolts and Schisms have drawn down upon you.* And truly they have not bin worse than their words. There are some in the Kingdom who still continue firm, and their Persecutions are still continu'd to them. There are invented every day new torments, against those whom force has made to change their Religion, because they are still observed to sigh, and groan under their hard servitude; their heart detesting what their mouths have profest, and their hands signed. As to such that have escaped into Foreign Countries, who are at least 150000 persons, their Estates are Confiscated; this being all the hurt which can be done to them at present. I say at present; for 'tis not to be questioned, but our Persecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties farther. But we must hope in the compassions of God, that whatsoever intentions they may have in destroying the Protestant Religion in all places, he will not permit them to effect their designs. The World will surely open its Eyes; and this which they now come from doing with a high hand, and a worse then barbarous Fury, will shew not only the Protestants, but the wise and circumspect Catholics, what they are to expect, both one and the other, from such a sort of People.

In effect, he that shall give himself the leisure to reflect on the matters of Fact which we come now from relating, which are things certain, and acted in the face of the Sun, he shall see not only the Protestants suppressed, but the Kings Honour sullied, his Countries damnified; all the Princes of Europe interested, and even the Pope himself, with his Church and Clergy, shamefully discredited.

For to begin with the King himself: What could be more contrary to his Dignity, then to put him upon breaking his word and persuading him that he might with a safe Conscience violate, revoke, and annul so solemn an Edict as that of *Names*.

To palliate in some sort the Violence of this proceeding, they make him say in this new Edict, That the best and greatest part of the Reform'd Religion has imbraced the Catholick; and therefore the execution of the Edict of *Names*, and whatsoever else has bin done in favour of the same Religion, remains void. But is not this an Evasion unworthy of his Majesty. Seeing that if this best and greatest part of his Subjects of the Reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick; they have done it by force of Arms, and by the cruel and furious Oppression which his own Troops have laid upon them.

Perhaps one might thus speak, had his Subjects changed their Religion of their own free will. although that in this case too, the Priviledges of the Edict continue for those that remain. But after having forced them to change by the horrible inhumanities of his Dragoons; after having deprived them of the Liberty which the Edict gave them; to say coldly, that he only revokes the Edict, because it is now useless, is a Raillery unbecomitting so great a Prince: For it is as much as if he said, that he was indeed obliged to continue to his Protestant Subjects all the priviledges due to them but having himself overthrown them by a major Force, he finds himself at present lawfully and fairly disengaged from this Obligation: Which is just as if a Father, who himself had cut his Childrens Throats, should glory in the being henceforward freed from the care of nourishing and protecting them. Are other Kings wont thus to expresse themselves in their Edicts?

What they make him moreover say, to wit, That Henry the Great, his Grandfather, gave only the Edict of *Names* to the Protestants, that he might the better effect their re-union to the Roman Church; That Lewis the 13th. also, his Father, had the same design, when

when he gave the Edict of *Nismes*; and that he himself had entered therein at his coming to the Crown, is but a pitiful *Sabot*. But suppose (seeing they are willing we should do so) the truth of this discourse; and take we it simply, and according to the Letter, in the sense wherein they give it us, what can we conclude thence, but these following propositions: That *Henry* the Great, and *Lewis* the 13th. gave only the Edicts to our Fathers to deceive them, and with an intent to ruine them afterwards with the greater ease, under the mask of this Fraud. That not being able to do this, being hindred by other affairs, they have committed this important Secret to his present Majesty, to the end he should execute it when he met with an opportunity. That his present Majesty entering into the thought of this at his first coming to the Crown, he only confirm'd the Edicts and Declarations of 1643. and 1652. with other advantagious Decrees to the Reformed Religion, but to impose on them the more finely, (lay snares in their way) or if you please, crown them, as they crown'd of old the Sacrifices; That all that has bin done against them, since the Peace of the *Pirenees*, till this time, according to the abridgement which we have made of it, has bin only the execution of a project, but of a project far more ancient then we imagine, seeing we must date it from the Edict of *Nantes*, and ascend up to *Henry* the Great: In fine, That which has bin till now, has bin a great mystery, but is not one at present; seeing the King by this new Edict discovers it to all the world, that he may be applauded for it.

Will it not be acknowledged that the Enemies of *France*, who are willing to discredit the Conduct of its Kings, and render them odious to the World, have now an happy opportunity. *Henry* the Great gives his Edicts to the Protestants with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, he gives it them as a Recompence of their Services; he promises solemnly to observe it; and as if this was not enough, he binds himself thereunto with an Oath; he executes it to the utmost of his Power, and they peaceably enjoy'd it to the end of his Reign: yet all this is but a meer Snare, for they are to be Dragoon'd at a proper time: But being himself surprized by Death, he could not do it, but leaves it in charge to *Lewis* the 13th. his Son, *Lewis* the Thirteenth ascends the Throne, issues out his Declaration immediately, that he acknowledges the Edict of *Nantes* as perpetual and irrevocable, it needing not a new Con-

firmation.

firmation, and that he would Religiously observe every Article of it, and therefore sends Commissioners to see it actually executed. When he begins a War, he protests he designs not at Religion, and in effect he permits the full Liberty of it, in those very Towns he takes by Assault; He gives his Edict of *Nismes*, as the Edict of a Triumphant Prince, yet declares therein he understands, that of *Naples* should be inviolably kept, and shows himself to the last as good as his Word. But this is only intended to lull the Protestants asleep, in expectation of a favourable occasion to destroy them. *Lewis* the Fourteenth, at his coming to the Crown confirm the Edict, and declares, That he will maintain the Reformed in all their Priviledges; he afterward affirms in another Declaration, how highly he is satisfied in their Services; and mentions his design of making them to enjoy their rights. But this is but a meer amusement, and an artifice to intrap them, the better to colour over the project of ruining them at a convenient time. What a Character now of the Kings of *France* will this afford, to its Enemies, and foreign Nations; and what confidence do they think, will be henceforward put in their Promises and Treaties; for if they deal thus with their own Subjects, if they care less than to ruine them, what may Strangers expect from 'em. Consider we a while what they make the King say, That at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the design which he now comes from executing. They would say without doubt, from the time he actually took in hand the Reins of Government; for he was too young before, to enter personally on any design of this nature: he enter'd thereon then precisely at the time, when the Civil Wars were ended. But what does this mean, but that he undertook this design, at the very time when the Protestants came from rendring him the most important Service Subjects were ever capable of. They came from rendring him the highest Testimonies of Loyalty, when the greatest part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him. They had vigorously opposed his Enemies progress; rejected the most advantageous offers, kept Towns for him, yea whole Provinces; receiv'd his Servants and Officers into their Bosoms, when they could not find safety elsewhere; sacrificed their Estates to him, their Lives, their Fortunes; and in a word, done all with such a Zeal, as becomes faithful Subjects in so dangerous a conjuncture. And this is the time when the King enters on the design of destroying

stroying and extirpating them. This so confirms the Truth of what we said in the beginning, that it puts it out of all question, the the Project of their Destruction was grounded on the Services they had rendered the King. Do *Christian Ethics* allow these most unchristian Policies? Is it not a strange thing, that we must be taught this important Secret, and all *Europe* besides; for although the Protestants have done nothing in this occasion but their Duty, it could never be imagined their Duty should be made their Crime, and their Ruine should spring from whence should come their Society. God has brought Light out of Darkness, but the unchristian Politicks of *France*, on the contrary has brought Darkness out of Light. However they cannot but deny that in this new Edict, the King is made to say, *He has entred on the design to destroy the Protestant Party, in the very time wherein they have signaliz'd and distinguish'd themselves with great success for the Interest of the Crown,* which will furnish perhaps matter enough to thinking Men for Reflexion, as well within, as without the Kingdom; and will shew them what use is made of Services, and what Recompence is to be expected for them.

But we shall say no more of the Expressions of the new Edict, but rather consider the matter of it. Was ever a worse and harder usage than that which we have suffered for the space of Twenty Years, which have been employed in forming the late Tempest which has fallen upon us. It has been a continual Storm of Decrees, Edicts, Declarations, Orders, Condemnation of Churches, Desolation of Temples, Civil and Criminal Processes, civil imprisonment, Banishments, Pennances, Pecuniary Mults, Privation of Offices and Employs depriving Parents of their Children, and all those other Persecutions which we have already briefly sum'd up. We were told on one hand, that the King would continue to us the Edict of *Nantz*, and he delivered himself on several occasions to that Effect; and on the other hand we were made to suffer in our Estates, our Reputations, our Persons, our Families, in our Religion, and our Consciences, and all by unjust and indirect ways; by unheard of Inventions, by Oppressions, and publick Vexation, and sometimes under hand Dealings; and all this under the Veil of the Kings Authority, and because this was his good pleasure. We know very well the Authority of Kings, and the Respect and Submission with which we should receive their Orders. And therefore have we, during all these unsup-

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portable

portable Usages, a Patience, and an Obedience so remarkable, that it has been an Admiration of the Catholicks themselves, our Countrymen. But it must be acknowledged that those who put his Majesty on dealing thus with us, or have used his Name and Authority for this, could not do him otherwise a greater dishonour than they have done. For after all, those Kings who would have themselves esteemed for their Justice and Equity, govern not their Subjects after this manner. They are not for putting all to an uncertainty, filling all places with Lamentation and Terror. They seek not their satisfaction in the Tears and Groans of their innocent People; nor are they pleased with keeping their Subjects in a perpetual agitation. They love not to have their Names mention'd with terror, nor meditate continual designs of extirpating those who give constant and unquestionable Proofs of their Loyalty; much less to invent cruel projects, which like Mines, in their time shall destroy their own Natural Subjects; for what else have been these sly and equivocal Declarations, Counter-Orders, and revocative Edicts.

There are Three things, very remarkable in this whole Affair, the First is, that as long as they have been only in the way, the true Authors of the Persecution have not conceal'd themselves, but the King, as much as they could: 'Tis true, the Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations, and other things, when under the name of his Majesty; but at the request of the Agents, and Factors for the Clergy: And whilst they were busied in these matters, the King declared openly his Intention of maintaining the Edicts, and that 'twas abuses which he design'd to correct. The Second is, that when they came to the last Extremities, and to open force, then they have conceal'd themselves as much as they could, set forth the King at his full Length. There was nothing heard but these kind of Discourses, *The King will have it so, the King has taken it in hand, the King proceeds further than the Clergy desire*; by these two means they have had the Address to be only charg'd with the lesser parts of the cruelties, and to lay the most violent and odious part at the Kings door. The Third thing which we should remark is, that the better to obtain their Ends, they have made it their business to persuade the King, that this Work would Crown him with Glory, which is a horrid abuse of his credulity, an abuse so much the greater, by how much they would not have themselves thought the Authors of this Council; and when any particular Person of them are ask'd this day, *What they think of it*, there are few of them but condemn it. Ii

In effect, what more false an Idea could they give to his Majesty of Glory, than to make it consist in surprizing a poor People, dispers'd over all his Kingdom, and living securely under his Wings, and the Remains of the Edict of *Nants*; and who could not imagine there were any Intentions of depriving them of the Liberty of their Consciences, of surprizing and overwhelming them in an Instant, with an numerous Army, to whose discretion they are delivered; and who tell them that they must, either by fair means or foul, become *Roman* Catholicks, this being the Kings will and pleasure. What a falser Notion of Glory could they offer him, than the putting him in the place of God, making the Faith and Religion of Men to depend upon his Authority, and that hence forward it must be said in his Kingdom, *I don't believe, because I am persuaded of it, but I believe, because the King would have me do it*; which to speak properly, is, that I believe nothing, and that I'll be a *Turk* or a *Jew*, or whatever the King pleases. What falser Idea of Glory, then to force from Mens Mouths by Violence, and a long Series of Torments; a Profession, which the Heart abhors, and for which one sighs night and day, crying continually to God for Mercy. What Glory is there in inventing new ways of Persecutions, unknown to former Ages; which indeed do not bring Death along with them, but keep Men alive to suffer, that they may overcome their Patience and Coustancy by Cruelties, which are above Humane Strength to undergo? What Glory is there in not contenting themselves to force those who remain in his Kingdom, but to forbid them to leave it, and keep them under a double Servitude; *viz.* both of Soul and Body? What Glory is there in keeping his Prisons full of innocent Persons, who are charged with no other fault, than serving God according to the best of their Knowledge, and for this to be expos'd to the Rage of the Dragoons, or condemned to the Gallies, and executions on Body and Goods? Will these Cruelties render his Majesties Name lovely in his History, to the Catholick or Protestant World?

But we should be very loth to exaggerate any thing, which may violate the Respect due to so great a Prince; but we do not think it a failure in our Duty, fairly to represent how far these refined Polititions have really interest'd his Honour, in the sad Misfortunes wherein they have plunged us, and how Criminal they have thereby made themselves toward's him. They have committed np

less Mildemeanours against their Country, of which they are Members, and for which a Man would think they should have some consideration. Not to speak here of the great number of Persons of all Ages, Sexes and Qualities, which they have cut off from it by their fierce Tempers; although perhaps this Loss be greater, than they are willing to imagine. It is certain, that *France* is a very Populous Country, but when these Feavourish Fits shall be over, and they shall in cold Blood consider what they have done, they will find these Diminutions to be no matter of Triumph; for 'tis not possible, that so many Substantial People, so many intire Families, who distinguish themselves in the Arts, in the Sciences, Civil and Military, can leave a Kingdom without one day being missed: at present, whilst they rejoyce in their Spoils, possess themselves of their Houses and Estates, this loss is not felt; 'tis recompensed by Booty, but it will not be always so; Neither shall we insist here on that almost general Interruption of Traffick, which these most *Unchristian Persecutors* have caused in the Principal Towns of the State; although this be no small Mischief: The Protestants made up a good part of the Trade, as well within the Kingdom as without, and were therein so mixt with the Catholics, that their Affairs were in a manner inseparable. They dealt as it were in Common, when these Oppressions came upon them; and what Confusions have they not produced? How many industrious measures have they broken? How many honest designs have they not disappointed? How many Manufactures ruined? How many Bankrupts made? and how many Families reduced to Beggary? But this is what the Oppressors little troubles themselves about: they have their Bread gained to their Mouths, they live in wantonness and ease: and whilst others dye with Hunger, their Revenues are ascertain'd to them. But this hinders not the Body of the Estate to suffer, both in its Honour and Profit: and we may truly say, that Four Civil Wars could not have produced so much Mischief, as time will shew to spring from this Persecution.

But we will leave the consequence of this affair to time, and only say, That the Edict of *Nantes*, being a fundamental Law of the Kingdom: and an agreement between two parties, by a reciprocal acceptance under the peaceable Reign of *Henry the Great*: by the publick Faith, and by mutual Oaths, as we have already seen: this must certainly be of ill example to the interest of the State,

State: That after having made a thousand infractions of it, it must be at length revok'd, cancel'd, and annul'd, at the motion of a Cabal, who abuse their interest, and hereby make themselves fit for enterprising, and executing any thing. After this Violation, what can henceforward be thought firm and inviolable in *France*. I speak not of particular mens affairs, but of general establishments, Royal Companies, Courts of Justice, and all other ranks of men interested in Society, even the very rights of the Crown, and form of Government. There are in the Kingdom a great many thinking men, I mean not your Poets, and such like kind of Flatterers, who make Verses, Orations, Panegyricks, and Sermons too for Preferments and Benefices; but I speak of solid and judicious persons; who see into the consequences of things; and know well how to judge of them; shall we think that these men, see not what is too visible, that the State is pierc'd through and through, by the same blow given the Protestants; and that such an open revocation of the Edict, leaves nothing firm or sacred. It's to no purpose to alledge distinctions in the matter, and say that the pretended reform'd Religion, was odious to the State, and therefore was thus undertaken. For not to mention the dangerousness of the example; as to the general aversion to our Religion in the minds of the Catholics, it is certain, that excepting the Faction of the Bigots, and what they call the propagators of the Faith; neither the Commons, nor great People, have any animosity against us; but on the contrary, do bemoan our misfortunes. Not to touch further on this, who knows not what an easie matter it is to run down any cause, or render it odious or indifferent in the minds of the People. There are never wanting reasons and pretences, in matters of this nature; one party is set up against another; and that is called the State, right or wrong, which is the prevailing one: like as in Religion; not the best and honestest, but the powerfullst, and boldest part are termed the Church. We must not judge of these things then from their matter, but their form. Now if ever there was since the World stood, a matter authentick and irrevocable, it was the Edict of *Nantes*; To revoke and cancel it, is to set up ones self above our obligations to God, as well as to Men; 'tis to declare openly, that there are no longer any ties or promises in the World. And this is no more than the wise will easily comprehend, and I doubt not but they have done it already.

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Some perhaps may make an objection on this occasion, which 'twill be good to answer; which is, that as the *Edict*, consider it how we will, is become only a Law of State by *Henry* the Great's Authority, so it may likewise be revok'd and annul'd by *Lewis* the 14th. his Grandson and Successor. For things may be ended by the same means they have bin begun. If *Henry* the Great, has had the power to change the form of governing the State, by introducing a new Law; why has not *Lewis* the 14th. the same power to alter this form, and annul whatsoever his predecessor has done? But this Objection will soon be answer'd by considering it's built upon a false principle, and offers a faller consequence. It is not the single Authority of *Henry* the Great which has establish'd the *Edict*. The *Edict* is a Decree of his Justice, and an accord or transaction that pass between the Catholics and the Reformists, Authoriz'd by the publick Faith of the whole Estate, and sealed with the seal of an Oath, and ratified by the execution of it; now this renders the *Edict* inviolable, and sets it above the reach of *Henry's* Successors; and therefore they can be only the Depositories and Executors of it, and not the Masters to make it depend on their will. *Henry* the Great never employ'd the force of Arms to make the Catholics consent to it; and though since his death, under the minority of *Lewis* the 13th. there have bin Assemblies of the States General, the *Edict* has remain'd in full force; 'twas then, as we have already said, a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, which the King could not touch. But supposing this were not a work grounded on the bare Authority of *Henry*, which is false, it does not therefore follow, that his present Majesty can revoke it. The *Edict* is a Royal promise, which *Henry* the Great made to the Reformists of his Kingdom, as well for himself as his Successors for ever; as we have already seen; and consequently this is a condition or hereditary Debt, charged on himself and Posterity. Moreover, it is not true, that *Henry* the Great, has changed any thing in the Government of the State, when he gave Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects; for this Liberty is matter of right, and more inviolable than all *Edicts*, seeing that it is a right of Nature. He has permitted a publick exercise of the Reformed Religion; but this exercise was established in the Kingdom before his *Edict*, and if he has enlarged the Priviledges of the Reformed, as without doubt he has, he did not do it without the Consent and Approbation

probation of the State; and has herein violated nothing of his lawful engagements. But 'tis not the same with *Lewis* the 14th. who of his own pure Authority, makes a real and fundamental Change, against the concurrence of one part of his Estate, and without consulting the other; hereby violating his own Engagements, those of his Kingdom, and even the Laws of Nature too. In fine, if we consider what means have been used to arrive at this ~~Revocation~~ *in question*, how shall a man not acknowledge the State is sensibly interested therein. They are not contented to suppress the Religious Assemblies, and to null the Protestants priviledges by unjust Decrees; but they also send them Soldiers to dispute points of Religion with them; They are Sack't like People taken by Assault, forced in their Consciences; and for this purpose, Hell it self is let loose upon them; and this is the effects of a Military, and Arbitrary Government, regulated neither by Justice, Reason, nor Humanity. Can it be thought, that France will be at ease in this manner, or that wise people will think this an equitable way of governing? There needs only another design, another passion to satisfy, another vengeance to execute; and then, wo be to them who shall oppose it; for the Dragoons will not forget their Office.

To these two Reflections, which respect the French King and his States, we may add a third, which will have regard to the Interests of Kings, Princes, and other powers of Europe, as well of one as of the other Religion. We shall not be much mistaken, if we say, that they have a common and general concern herein; inasmuch as these skillful Artists in misery, do as much as they can, to trouble the good understanding that is betwixt them and their People. We are perswaded, that their wise and just Government will, in this respect, put them beyond all fear: but this hinders not examples, of this nature, from being always mischievous, and naturally tending to beget in the minds of the Vulgar, (who commonly judge only of things in general) suspicions and distrusts of their Sovereigns, as if they dream'd of nothing but devouring their Subjects, and delivering them up to the Discretion, or rather the Fury of their Soldiers. The greater moderation and justice that Princes have, the less they are obliged to those who furnish people with matter for such dangerous thoughts, which may produce very ill Effects.

Beside, is it not certain. that the Princes and States of *Europe*; cannot without a great deal of pleasure see *France*, which makes so great a Figure in the affairs of the World, and gives them so powerful an influence, now put her self in such a condition, as that no just Measures can be taken from her? For after so scandalous and publick a violation of the word of three Kings, and of the publick Faith, what Credit can be given for the future, to her Promises or Treaties? It will not be sufficient to say, that they will have no force but what Interest inspires; but that they will hereafter depend on the Interest or Capriciousness of a sort of Heady People, that will give nothing either to the Laws of Prudence or Equity, but manage all by force. If they have had the power, to do within the Kingdom what they have lately put in execution, what will they not do as to Affairs without? If they have not spared their own Country men, with whom they had daily Commerce, who were serviceable to them, will they spare the unknown? Will they have more respect to Truces, or Conventions of four days Transaction, than to an Edict of an hundred years continuance, and that the most August and Solemn that ever was; which yet they made no other use of then to amuse a People, and to involve them more surely in an utter Desolation? Methinks they have resolv'd to bring things to this pass, That there being no more Faith to be had in *France*, all her Neighbours should be continually upon their Guard against her, and the more so when she promises then when she threatens; more in Peace then in War; so that there is no more hopes of being at quiet, but what the Surgery of Hostages, or the diminution of her Forces can give.

This being so in respect of all Princes and States in general, what may the Protestant Princes and States in particular think, but that it is the design of *France* to ruine them all, and to make no stop till she has devoured them. Every body knows, that the Protestant Princes understand their Interests well enough, to be able to discern them through the Clouds, wherewith they would cover them; and 'tis not doubted but they see, that this is a beginning or Essay, which *France* expects shortly to give the last stroak to, The Court there has suffer'd it self to be possess'd with gross Bigotry, and a false Zeal of Catholicism. 'Tis the *Genius a-la mode*; each there is become a persecutor, even to Fire and Sword: and there are some perswaded, that this shall weigh

weigh down the Ballance: Vain Glory is no small Ingredient in this design, Policy has her Prospects, and Mysteries in it too; and as these Prospects have no Bounds, so her Mysteries want not invisable Springs, and surprizing ways, which she will joyne when she pleases to the Power of Arms. She thinks the Season is ripe, and she needs only to dare. The easiness she has found in making Conquests and Conversions swells her courage, and already lowe talk of nothing but a further progress in so fair a way: 'Tis to be hoped that Protestant Princes and States will from thence draw their just Conclusions.

As to Catholick Princes and States, they have too *bigacious* Judgements, not to see how much they share in this Affair. It will be made use of to break the good understanding which is betwixt them and the Protestants, by amusing those with the fair Pretext of the Catholick Religion, and cunningly inspiring these with Jealousies of a general design to destroy them. If the Catholick Princes and States remove not these Suspitions, if they suffer *France* still to aggrandize her self by her pretended Zeal for Catholicism, which at the bottom is but a Mask, they may already be assured, that they are lost. It will signifie little to say, *We are good Catholics as well as you*, this will not secure them from *Dragons*, all that will not take the Yoke shall be Hereticks; nay, worse than an Heretick; for now the greatest Heresie is not to submit? *Spain*, *Germany* and *Italy* already know this in some measure.

But will it not be thought a Paradox, if, to all that that we have said, we add, That the Pope himself, and the whole Body of the *Roman* Church, find themselves sensibly interest'd in the Persecution of us. And yet we will say nothing herein, but what is evident Truth, and which the wisest of the *Roman* Catholics must agree to. For is it not the worst Character that can be given of the *Roman* Clergy, to represent them as an Order of Men, who not only cannot endure any thing that is not subject to them in a Religious, but also in Civil Society; as Men that are not content to Anathematize all that displease them, but design nothing so much as to exterminate them, not only to exterminate them, but also to force their Consciences, and inspire their Opinions, and propagate their way of Worship by the knocking Arguments of *Swords* and *Staves*; as an Order of Men, who neither Father nor Justice, who promise only to deceive, who for

for a while curb their Fury only, that afterwards they may the more insult, that in Peace as well as War, contrive only to overturn and destroy, that make Alliances only to surprize, and finding themselves more Powerful, deny those they have surprized the Liberty to escape. These are the exact Features and Colours by which the Roman Clergy may be easily known, if we judge of them by the Persecution in France, the like whereof was never seen to this day: The Egyptians and Assyrians once persecuted the Israelites, but forced them not to embrace the Worship of their Idols; they contented themselves with making them Slaves, without doing violence to their Consciences. The Heathens and the Jews persecuted the Primitive Christians, forced their Consciences indeed, but they had never granted them an Edict, nor by persecuting them did violate the Publick Faith, nor hindered them to make their escape by Flight. The Arrians cruelly persecuted the Orthodox, but besides that, they went not so far, as to make the common sort of People sign formal Abjurations; there was no Edict or Concordat between the Two Communions. Innocent the 3d. by his *Crossades*, persecuted the *Waldenses*, and *Albigenses*; but these People also had no Edict. *Emmanuel* King of Portugal, furiously persecuted the Jews, but he gave them leave to depart out of his Kingdom, and they had no Edict. It was the same with those Remains of the Moors, who had settled themselves in some Cantons of the Kingdom of Granada, they were defeated in a War, and commanded to retire into the Country from whence their Ancestors came. In the last Age the Duke of Alva exercised dreadful Cruelties upon the Protestants of the Seventeen Provinces, but he did not hinder them from flying, nor violated any Edict; and at the worst, Death was their Release. The Inquisition is to this day in Spain and Italy, but they are Countries, in which no Religion, besides the Roman, was ever permitted by Edicts, and if the Inquisitors may be accused of Violence and Cruelty, yet they cannot be convicted of Persecutions.

But in this last Persecution of France, there are five things that strike the Mind with Horror; they make the Consciences and Religion of Men to depend Sovereignly upon the Will of a King, they violate a Faith Authentickly sworn to, they force Men to be Hypocrites, and wicked, by seeming to embrace a Religion which they abhor; they prohibit all Flight or retiring out of the Kingdom; they do not put to Death, but preserve Life to oppress it with

with longer Torments. If after this the Court of *Rome* and its Clergy, dispersed over the rest of *Europe*, disclaim not so odious and so criminal a Conduct; if they condemn it not, it will be an indelible Stain to the Honour of their Religion. Not only Protestants, who are of a different Communion, but also an infinite number of their own *Catholicks*, will be mightily scandaliz'd thereat: nay, even the *Turks* and *Japs* and *Pagans* will rise up in Judgement against them. They may already know what they have bin condemned of, in what passed in the Council of *Constance*, concerning *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, whom they put to Death, notwithstanding the safe Conduct of the Emperor *Sigismund*; but there is something greater here: There only Two Men were concerned, here more than 1500000; those they put to Death, and if they had done the same to these, they would have embraced their Death with Joy and Comfort. The Council, though its Authority greater than *Sigismund's*, but there cannot be produced one above that which has establish'd our Edict.

We are not ignorant of the different Methods which the Persecutors take to shelter themselves from publick Condemnation. Some take a speedy course to deny the Fact; and to perswade the World, That Force and Violence have had no share in the Conversions, but that they were soft, and calm, and voluntary: and that if there were any Dragoons concerned therein, 'twas because the Reformed themselves desired them, that they might have a handsom pretence to change their Religion. Was there ever seen so much Impudence? What will they not deny, who can deny what's done in the Face of the Sun, and what a whole Kingdom from one end of it to the other hath seen, and to this day sees? For in the beginning of the year 1686. whilst I am composing this sad Rehearsal, they continue to exercise in *France* the same Rage, that ended the preceding year, the same Dragoons both in Cities and Countries execute the same Fury against some lamentable Remains of Protestants, who will not fall down and worship.

They are used like Rebels in their Persons, in their Estates, in their Wives, and in their Children; and if there be any difference, 'tis in this that their sufferings are still encreasing. Yet if we will believe the Clergy, haranguing the King, and the Bishop of *Valence* their Speaker, he tells his Majesty how miraculous his Reign is, seeing such infinite numbers of Conversions are made to the *Roman Church*, without violences and arms; much less

saith he, *by the force of your Edicts*, as by the example of your *exemplary Piety*, If we will believe the greatest part of the Abjurations which these poor Opprest People, are forc'd to make, they speak indeed the same sence, *vez. That they have done this without being constrain'd thereto.* Thus is the Credulity of the publick impos'd on: They have Seeds of Imposture sown at their Feet, which are to grow with the time: Posterity who shall see these Records, will believe they contain the truth; Here, say they, is what has been told the King, who must not have falshoods offer'd him: Here is the proper acts and deeds of those that were converted. Why will not then Posterity believe it, seeing that at present, there are indeed People impudent enough, or to speak better paid well enough to publish it in strange Countries; and there are found credible persons enough to believe it. But I pray what likelihood is there, that 150000 persons already gone out of *France*, without any thing constrained them to it, should leave their Houses, their Lands of Inheritance, their Effects, and severall their Wives and Children, for to wander about the World and lead a miserable Life for a humor. Is there any likelihood, that Persons of Quality of both Sexes, who enjoyed 10, 15, 20, 30 thousand Livres *per annum*, these would abandon their Estates, not only for themselves, but for their Successors; expose themselves to the perils, and incommodiousness of long Journies, and reduce themselves in a manner to Beggary, which is a condition the most insupportable in the World, to Persons of Quality; and all this without any reason, without any occasion? What likelihood that this 150 thousand Persons who have already escap'd, some of 'em into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, some into *Denmark*, others into *Holland*, some into *Suedeland*, and others into *England*, and some into *America*, without seeing or knowing one another, yet have agreed to tell the same lie, and to say with one voice, That the Protestants are cruelly persecuted in *France*; and that by unheard of Severities they are forc'd to change their Religion; altho' there is no such matter? It is likely the Embassadors and Envoys of Foreign Princes, should lye all of them in consort, telling them this news, wherein there is no truth? But I pray, if in *France* the Protestants thus voluntarily, and without constraint change their Religion, and that the Dragoons are call'd in only as their good Friends, whence happens this so strict & general General in the Frontiers, to hinder peoples departure? How is it that the

Prisons

Prisons of the Kingdom are cram'd with Fugitives stop'd by the way. Whence is it, that those who have chang'd, are watch'd with such great care to hinder their flight; to the obliging them to deposit Sums of Money to secure them from the suspicion of it? This must be an Epidemical Distemper that has seiz'd on his Majesties Subjects, that shall make them fly thus without reason? But is not this a fine cover, to say that the Protestants have themselves call'd in the Dragoons, to have the better pretence to change their Religion? It is about 10. or more years since there was a Bank set up to traffick for Souls. Mr. *Pelison* has for a long time bin the great dealer of *Paris*, in this infamous Trade of purchasing Converts. These Conversions have of late, bin the only way of gaining applause, and recompences at Court, and in a word, a means of raising ones Fortune; and yet we must be told, that instead of being Converted by these easie ways, we had rather choose the help of Dragoons, that is, of being pillag'd. At least let any one tell us, why since these pretended voluntary Conversions, the People not willing to go to Mass, they have bin obliged to send them Troops, and use them with the same severity as before.

This is so gross and palpable an untruth, that others have undertaken to defend these Violences, as being naturally of the genuine Spirit of the Catholick Church; and for this purpose, they have continually in their mouths that passage of the Gospel, *compelle int're*; compel them to come in, and the persecution which the Orthodox of *Affrick* offer'd the *Donatists*, &c.

Were this a place to dispute against these furious Divines, we could easily shew 'em the vanity of these allegations; but we shall rather ask 'em, whether the Jews and Pagans had agreed upon an Edict with the Apostles, when our Saviour says to them, *compel them to come in*. Has *St. Augustin* ever written, for he is cited in this matter, That we ought to be perfidious towards those whom we esteem as Hereticks, when we promis'd to live with 'em like Brethren and fellow Citizens. The *Donatists*, had they any Edicts which should shelter 'em from the insults of the Orthodox? If we yield to this detestable Divinity, what will become of all us Christians? For in short, *the Papist is as much a Heretick to the Protestants, as the Protestants are to the Papist*; yet they live together in peace, on the Faith of Alliances, Treaties and Promises. But these publick Pests as much as in them lies, have brought all things into confusion, and a State of War. They

arm

arm the Catholics against the Protestants, teaching the Catholics by this example, that their Religion obliges him to betray and surprise the Protestants, when they can do it unpunish'd; and knock out their Brains if they will not change their Religion. They arm the Protestants against the Catholics; for after all, what Peace and Society can we have with People, who not only make no Conscience to break their Faith; but on the contrary, make it a case of Conscience to break it, when they shall find occasion. Thus have they by their Dragoons desolated a Kingdom, and plunder'd above a 100 thousand Families. Do we think this method, is pleasing to him, whom we both own to be the Author of our Faith; he has said, *That he will not suffer Hell Gates to ruin his Church*; but he has not said, he will open Hell Gates for the propagating his Church. Now if there were any thing that looks like the Gates of Hell, it is the Persecutions of France.

Whatsoever Antipathy there may be between the See of Rome and us, we will not believe that the present Pope has had any part, or that the Storm has falln on us from him. We know he is a mild Prince, and his temper leads to more moderate Councils than those of his Predecessors. Moreover we know, the Clergy of France do not always consult him in what they undertake; and we have had often offered to us, what has bin done against Rome, to induce us to submit our selves to the Kings will in these other matters; and how small a deference is paid to its Authority. So that we hope the Pope himself, considering us still as Men and Christians, will condole us, and blame the methods used against us, had he no other reason than the interest of Religion. Perhaps one day, it will be our turn to blame that which will be taken against him.

However, 'tis certain the Protestants of France are the most fit object of publick compassion, the World ever knew. Some sigh and lament under a hard Slavery, which they would willingly change for Irons in *Algiers* or *Tinke*. For there they would not be forced to turn *Mahometans*, and might still entertain some hopes of liberty by the way of ransom. Others are wandering about strange Countreys, strip of their Estates, separated in all probability, for ever from their Parents, their Relations and Friends, whom they have left in the most doleful condition imaginable. Husbands have left their Wives, and Wives their Husbands; Fathers their Children, and Children their Fathers. We have seen

seen our Estates vanish in a moment, our honest ways of living, our hopes, our Inheritances.

We have scarcely any thing left us but our miserable Lives, and they are supported by the Charity of our *Christian Brethren*.

Yet amongst all these Afflictions we are not destitute of Comfort; we, if ever any did, do truly suffer for Conscience sake: the Malice of our Persecutors not being able to charge us with the least Misdemeanour. We have served our King and the State with Zeal and Faithfulness. We have submitted to the Laws and to Magistrates; and for our Fellow Citizens, they have no reason to complain of us. We have for Twenty years together suffered with an exemplary Patience all those furious and dreadful Storms aforementioned. And when in *Vivarez* and *Covenner*, some have have thought themselves bound in Conscience to preach on the Ruins of their Temples illegally demolished, their small number, which were but a handful of Men, Women and Children, has only served to stir up more the Resignation and Obedience of our whole Body. To these latter Storms we have been like Sheep, Innocent and without Defence. We then comfort our selves in the Justice of our Cause, and our peaceable Deportment under it.

But we comfort our selves likewise in the *Christian Compassion* shewed us by Foreign Princes, and more especially of his Majesty of England, who has received us into his Countries, succoured and relieved us, and recommended our distressed Condition to all his Subjects; and we have found in them not only new Masters, or the Affection of new Friends, but of real Parents and Brethren. And as these Bowels of Commiseration have been as Balm to our Wounds, so we shall never lose the Remembrance of it, and hope we nor our Children shall ever do any thing by Gods Grace, unworthy any of these their Protections.

All our Affliction then is, to see our Religion oppressed in the Kingdom of France; so many Churches wherein God was daily served according to the simplicity of the Gospel, demolished, so many Flocks dispers'd, so many poor Consciences sighing and groaning under their Bondage; so many Children deprived of the lawful Education of their Parents: But we hope that at length the same God who heard heretofore the Sighs of his People in the Servitude of Egypt, will also hear at this time the Cries of his Faithful Servants. We call not for Fire from Heaven, We are for no Resistance, we only pray that God would touch the Hearts of

of our Persecutors, that they may repent, and be saved together with us. We entreat such a deliverance, as he in his Wisdom shall think fitting.

However I will be no Offence to God nor Good men to leave this Writing to the World, as a Protestation made before him, and them against these Violences, more especially against the Edict of 1685. containing the Revocation of that of *Nantes*, it being in its own nature inviolable, irrevocable and unalterable. We may, I say, complain amongst other things against the worse than inhumane Cruelties exercised on dead Bodies, when they are drag'd along the Streets at the Horse Tails, and dig'd out, and denied Sepulchers. We cannot but complain of the Cruel Orders to part with our Children, and suffer them to be baptized, and brought up by our Enemies. But above all, against the impious and detestable practice, now in vogue, of making Religion to depend on the Kings pleasure, on the will of a Mortal Prince, and of treating perseverance in the Faith with the odious name of Rebellion: This is to make a God of Man, and to run back into the Heathenish Pride and Flattery amongst the *Romans*; of authorising of Atheism or gross Idolatry. In fine, we commit our Complaints, and all our Interests into the Hands of that Providence, which brings Good out of Evil, and which is above the Understanding of Mortals, whose Houses are in the Dust.

FINIS.

Exurgat (Deus) Desipontur Inimici.

Let God arise, and scatter those Enemies
of his Church, and people as the
Dust, before the wind. Amen

hic scribit D.R.

A poem on the late glorious King William
of ever blessed memory.

Wonders of mercy in our Days
that God should send us o'er the seas
A prince to rescue us from Rome
Restore our souls, avert our Doom
William the third whom Heaven approves
Angels protect, the Kingdom loves
Long reign in peace, long wear this Crown
and pull proud Babylon quite down
God grant that long we may enjoy
The Royall King without annoy
And that Heavens Blessing may attend
His sacred person to the end
God grant no villain may approach
His sacred person, once to touch
The Lord's anointed one, that woe
Jerusalem in peace may see
The time will come, your seed will see
That Rome at length will cease to be
and Babylon's of Raging whore
shall trouble England's state no more
The time will come that God will make
Rome like to Asphaltite Lake
where Sodom and Gomorrah lie
Buried in shame and in fire.